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enjoy their estates, preferred to proceed to France with King James, and thus incurred the forfeiture of their titles and properties.

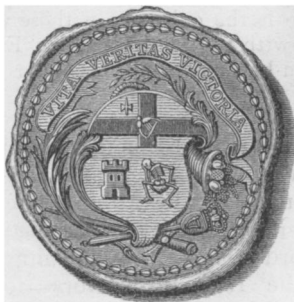
The following paper was contributed:—

**A NOTICE OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENT, IN A. D. 1596, OF
THE CITY OF DERRY BY THE ENGLISH, TO ITS BURN-
ING BY SIR CAHIR O'DOHERTY, IN A. D. 1608.**

BY ARTHUR GERALD 'GEOGHEGAN.

THROUGH the courtesy of Alexander Lindsay, Esq., Mayor of Derry, I am enabled to send the Society photographs of the civic chain, mace, and state swords belonging to the ancient city of which he is the chief magistrate. The chain, which is silver gilt, measures upwards of ten feet in length. From the corporate records it appears that, about a century since, three chains were ordered to be made, according to a pattern submitted by a silversmith in Dublin, one for the mayor, and two for the sheriffs,—the corporation of Derry having the privilege of electing two sheriffs from an early date. This privilege was exercised down to comparatively a recent period. In the Ordnance Survey for the city of Derry, a list of mayors and sheriffs is furnished in unbroken succession from 1662 to 1836. It is, therefore, probable that on the abolition of this privilege in 1841, on the passing of the Municipal Bill, those three chains were linked together, so as to form the one now worn by the Mayor of Derry during his year of office.

The medallion, which is also of silver gilt, was presented by William III., after the memorable siege of 1688; it bears his likeness on one side, with the words *GUILM. III. DEI GRA. REX*, and on



the reverse the arms of the city of Derry. From the above woodcut of the corporation seal of 1613 it will be seen that these arms are of

a peculiar and somewhat ghastly character ; they bear date from this original corporate seal of 1613. The figure of a skeleton, seated on a bank or rock, with a tower (the heraldic emblem of a city), on the dexter side, is popularly believed to have had its origin as an allusion to the fate of Sir Cahir O'Doherty, by whom the city was destroyed in 1608. Sir Cahir is supposed, according to local tradition, to have been starved to death in his tower or castle, at Buncrana. This, however, the original grant by Ulster King of Arms in 1613, quoted in the Ordnance Survey, it is asserted, proves to be a fallacy, it runs thus :—

“The armes of y^e cittie of Derrie were at first, when the Ho^b^{le} Sir Henry Docwra knight made the plantation thereof against the arch traytoure Hugh, sometime Earle of Tyrone, the picture of death (or a skeleton), sitting on a massive stone, and on the dexter point a castle; and for as much as that cittie was since most traytourouslie sacked, and destroyed by S^r Cahire (or S^r Charles) O'Dogherty, and hath since bene (as it were) rayased from the dead, by the worthy undertaking of the Ho^b^{le} cittie of London, in memorie whereof, it is henceforth called by the name of London-derrie, I have at the request of John Rowley, now first Mayor of that cittie, and the commonaltie of the same, set forth the same armes wth an addition of a chief of the armes of London, as here appeareth ; and for a confirmation thereof, I have heereunto set my hand and seale, the first of June, 1613.

“DAN: MOLINEUX, *Ulster King.*”

The mace is silver, figured in the accompanying plate, and without particular artistic merit; the stem is not solid, but consists of silver casing on an oak shaft. This is the identical mace referred to by Captain Ash, in his narrative of the siege of 1688, in the following extract :—

“August 4.—Major-General Kirk came to Derry, accompanied by Colonel Stuart, and several English officers; they alighted at Bishop's Gate, and went through Bishop Street, the Diamond, and Butcher Street, to Governor Mitchelbourne's. The Governors Michelbourne and Walker were with him, on each hand; *the Sword and Mace* were borne by Lieut.-Col. Campsey, and Mr. John Moor; Alderman Squire, and Alderman Cocker, had their gowns on, in company with a good many persons of all sorts. A guard was formed on both sides of the street; the officers standing at the head of their poor half-starved soldiers, all the way from Bishop's Gate to Governor Mitchelbourne's house, where Major-General Kirk dined.”

There are two swords, of which I send photographs. No. 2 on plate is evidently a state weapon, and, although dating from before the siege, has no intrinsic value beyond its association therewith; I have no doubt but that this is the sword mentioned in the foregoing extract. The word *Londonderry* is raised in rude letters on the circular knob of the handle ; there is no maker's name on the

blade, and the whole character of the sword is that of one intended to be borne by civic functionaries on state occasions and festivals.

No. 1 on plate is a weapon of a different aspect. It was presented by the city of London to the city of Derry, in the year 1616, a genuine "*Andrea Ferara*," with the maker's name stamped on both sides of the blade. It is well balanced, and has a soldierly and serviceable look. The blade measures two feet ten inches, the handle is ten inches, and is cased with silver chain mail; the cross bar, polished steel, ten inches also in length. In addition to the maker's name the letters "I H S" are impressed on the blade; but frequent cleaning has obliterated "*Andrea*" on the side photographed for the engraver, where also the sacred monogram reads "H I S."

The fate of this chieftain is intimately connected with the earlier annals of Derry, and the supposed fact of his sword being now carried in peaceful triumph by its civic officers is so suggestive of a retrospect to his brief and memorable career, that I have been induced to make a short extract of the leading events from the first settlement of Derry by the English in 1596, to its total destruction in 1608; premising that, in doing so, I have freely availed myself of the condensed information supplied in the first and only volume of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, as well as of the valuable aid found in the notes to Connellan's edition of the "*Four Masters*," in the Miscellany of the Celtic Society, edited by Dr. O'Donovan; and in Hempton's "*Siege and History of Londonderry*"—a work which, although meagre in original literary matter, is trustworthy as a compilation. I am further induced to make the attempt, as I consider that two of the most remarkable men of the period mentioned, so far as Derry is concerned, have been unfairly treated by posterity—I mean Sir Cahir O'Doherty, and Sir Henry Docwra. A premeditated political rebellion having been attributed to the former, when in truth it was nothing more than a sudden outburst caused by gross personal provocation; while the services of the latter, although one of the ablest captains of the day, have been overlooked, or coldly acknowledged, even in the very city that owes its corporate origin and existence to his exertions. To render justice, therefore, to both Celt and Saxon—to clear the lamp of historical truth from the mists of prejudice and misrepresentation, and let its light shine on a dark page of our country's annals—is the task that I have undertaken. If I do not succeed, most assuredly the failure will arise, not from want of heartiness in the work, but from lack of ability to accomplish it.

Derry, in Irish *Dóirpe*, means literally "*a place of oaks*;" but the word was not used topographically by the ancient Irish without the addition of some distinctive epithet; thus the original Pagan appellation of this place was *Dóirpe Calgach*, or *Derry Calgach*, "*the oak wood of Calgach*." *Calgach*, according to the Ordnance Survey,



SWORDS AND MACE OF THE CORPORATION OF LONDONDERRY.

from which the foregoing and subsequent information is extracted, means a "fierce warrior"—the *Galgacus* of Tacitus. For a long period subsequent to the sixth century, in which a monastery was erected here by St. Columbkille, the name of *Derry Calgach* prevailed, but towards the latter end of the tenth century it seems to have yielded to that of *Derry Columbkille*. From the year 546, when, according to the best authorities, a monastery was built by the celebrated St. Columbkille on the "pleasant eminence of Derry covered with oaks," to the year 1566, the history of Derry is ecclesiastical, and is identical with that of other similar establishments in Ireland. Thus for more than 1000 years we have a registry¹ of successive bishops, a notice of pious gifts to the shrine of St. Columbkille, a frequent record of the plundering of Derry Calgach by foreigners, and burning of the churches by native clans, and pirates. A mention, in A. D. 1198, of a marauding visit of De Courcey to Derry; a similar expedition, in 1214, of Thomas de Galloway, Earl of Athol; another, in 1222, by Neal O'Neill, who "plundered Derry, and the daughter of O'Kane!" affording, as it is truly remarked, "a saddening illustration of the insecurity of life and property, and the amount of misery and confusion which were the inevitable results of such a social system." Truth compels us to state that those depredations were as frequently committed by the native Irish as by foreigners. Especial mention is made in 1197 "of Mac Etig, one of the Kianachts, who robbed the altar of the Temple More of Derry, carrying away four of the richest goblets in Ireland, viz.: one called Mac Riabac (*worth 60 cows*); a second, called the goblet of O'Maoldoraidh (O'Muldorrey); and the goblet of O'Doherty, called Cain copamn (crooked goblet)—he broke them to pieces, and took off their jewels." However, it is satisfactory to add, that on the third day afterwards the jewels were recovered, and the robber arrested, and subsequently hanged at Cpop na píag (the cross of execution) in Derry, as a warning to all Celtic evildoers. Assuredly this Cpop na píag was needed on the solitary island of the Foyle, for the walls of its monastery afforded but slight protection to the good monks of Saint Columbkille. Neither the property nor the lives of these holy men were ever safe; not only were their churches burned over their heads; their shrines plundered, and their altars profaned, but frequently they sealed with blood their efforts to humanize the lawless men, by whom they were surrounded. Thus we read, in 1213, that, when O'Kane and the Pp na Cpaorbe (men of the Creeve) came to Derry, to storm the house of the sons of Mac Loughlin, the vicar of the church

¹ Among the celebrated men who were born in Derry or its immediate neighbourhood we find, in A. D. 516, St. Ca-

nice, the friend and cotemporary of St. Columbkille, and the patron saint of Kilkenny, and the Diocese of Ossory.

of Derry, who interposed to make peace between them, was slain. Again, in A. D. 1261, sixteen of the most distinguished of the clergy of Tyrone were slain at Derry by Connor O'Neill and the Kinel Owen, assisted by Conor O'Fingel (now O'Friel)—a sad record of a turbulent age.

Up to the middle of the sixteenth century, we find that Derry was in the hands of the native Irish ; around it were grouped the O'Dohertys, the O'Donnells, and (separated by the River Foyle) the O'Cahans or O'Kanes. In the reign of Elizabeth, A. D. 1565, an attempt was made to plant a garrison in Derry. Cox, in his "*Hibernia Anglicana*," states that in the July of that year an army of 700 men was sent from England to Derry under the command of Colonel Randolph, and there they intrenched and kept themselves safe until the Lord Deputy (Sir Henry Sydney) came to them ; and having staid there six days, left them 50 horse under Captain Harvey, and 700 foot under Captain Cornwall, with a competent supply of ammunition, victuals, and other necessities.

The English were not left long in quiet possession of their new settlement. In 1566, Shane O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, having collected an army of 2500 foot, and 300 horse, encamped within two miles of Derry. The garrison sallied out, according to Cox, with a force of 300 foot and 50 horse, and attacked the Irish ; a battle ensued, in which O'Neill was defeated with a loss of 400 men. With that remarkable economy of truth, which distinguishes the statements of Cox in such matters, the loss of the English is set down as one man ! but that one was their gallant commander, Colonel Randolph—a loss, which, even in the judgment of the learned judge, would more than balance the numbers slain on the Irish side. Accordingly we find that in 1568, in consequence of an explosion of the powder magazine, by which the town and fort were injured, and many lives lost, the English abandoned Derry. It is stated the explosion was an accidental one : whether it was so, or not, we cannot now say, but we may safely reject O'Sullivan's statement, that the disaster was caused by a wolf with a lighted torch in its mouth, rushing into the magazine, in punishment of the violation of the church and cell of St. Columbkille by the English soldiers. However, whether the explosion was accidental or otherwise, the result was equally the same ; the colony was broken up, and the garrison withdrawn, the foot soldiers embarking for Dublin, and the cavalry returning to the same place. Captain George Harvey and his troop, being loath to kill their horses, boldly resolved to march round through Tyrconnell and Connaught to Dublin—a journey which, though full of hazard and danger, was safely accomplished, to "the great admiration of the Lord Deputy and Council." Taking into consideration the local obstacles he had to overcome, the nature of the country he had to travel, the length of the

journey, and the number of enemies that beset him on all sides, this march of Captain Harvey's through a hostile country, with a force not exceeding 200 horse, was as gallant and daring an exploit as any we read of in the civil wars; and may be placed fairly beside the retreat of O'Sullivan Beare, in 1602, from the passes of Glengarriff to the country of O'Rorke, after the fall of the Castle of Dunboy. A long interval now elapsed, during which the bell from the slender tower of the Temple Mor, that rose above the wooded slope of Derry, called the native clans to worship in peace at the shrine of St. Columbkille; and for thirty-two years the kernes of the O'Cahans and O'Dohertys drank the waters of the well of the three saints under the shadows of the abbey walls, undisturbed by the presence of a Saxon soldier. Yet it must not be imagined that Elizabeth's generals during this interval were not aware of the importance of the position. Placed on an island, containing at that time, according to Sir Henry Docwra, about forty acres, beside a noble river, navigable to the sea by ships of the largest tonnage, commanding on land the flanking passes that led to the countries of the O'Neills, the O'Donnells, and the O'Dohertys, Derry, in a military point of view, was the Acropolis of the North. Thus we find that one of the chief articles of complaint brought against the Earl of Essex was his neglect to fulfil the instructions given to him to plant a garrison there. "How often," Elizabeth indignantly writes—"how often have you resolved me, that until Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon are planted, there could be no hope of doing service on the capital rebels!"

The ecclesiastical quiet that lay during these thirty-two years over the secluded sanctuary of the Foyle, was in the year 1600 finally broken. On the 16th of May, in that year, Sir Henry Docwra, with a force of 4000 foot and 200 horse, and a fleet of 67 ships and transports, entered Lough Foyle, effected a landing at Culmore, after some opposition from the Irish; and in six days afterwards was master of Derry.

The circumstances connected with this important expedition are told by the Commander himself, in a manuscript entitled:—"*A Narrative of the Services done by the Army y^employed to Lough Foyle, under the leading of mee, Sir Henry Dowcra Knt.*" This manuscript is preserved in the library of the Ordnance Survey; and the extracts from it in the first and only volume published by that department are so interesting, that the non-appearance of the continuation of the narrative, in the promised second volume, is not the least of the many regrets that we experience from the stopping of the publication of that national work.

The narrative is well written; devoid of boasting or exaggeration, its language is concise, plain, and graphic; its details, set down with soldierly brevity, are exact and truthful; forming a

marked distinction in this to the unscrupulous misrepresentations and misstatements of cotemporary writers. After acquainting us that the expedition was to consist of 4000 foot and 200 horse (3000 of the foot and all the horse being levied in England), Sir Henry mentions—

“That he sailed with this contingent from Helbree, neere vnto Westchester, on the 24th April, 1600, to Knockfergus [Carrickfergus], and there remained 8 days, awaiting the arrival of the other 1000 foot which were to be drafted from the old companies about Dublin. The last of them coming in by the 6th of May, on the 7th wee sett saile againe, and the winde often fayling, and sometimes full against us, it was the 14th before wee could putt into the mouth of the bay at Lough Foyle; and noe sooner were wee entered but wee fell on ground, *and soe stucke till the next day, and then at full tide wee weighed our anchors, sayled a little way, and runne on ground againe!*”

However, those perils and delays of navigation were soon over; and on the 16th May the expedition reached Culmore, at the southern extremity of Lough Foyle, where the river of the same name flows into it. Here, on a low neck of ground that commands the entrance of the stream, Sir Henry disembarked part of his forces, and commenced building a fort capable of holding 200 men. This, however, was not done without some opposition: we read—

“About 100 men lying on shoare, and giving us a volie of shott, and soe retyring, wee landed at Culmore, and with the first of our horse and foote that we could vnshipp made vp towards a troupe of horse and foote that wee saw standing before us on the topp of a hill.”

These were, in all probability, the garrison of the Castle of Elagh, situated about three miles distant. The passage of the fleet along the eastern shore of Innisowen would have been observed, and consequently known to Sir John O'Doherty, the chieftain of the district. Seeing the overwhelming force of the expedition, he had withdrawn the garrison from Elagh, and even commenced to pull its fortifications down. However, no skirmish took place, as “by ignorance of the wayes our horse were *presentlie boggt*, and soe of that day wee made none other use, but onlie to land our men—” a resolution which under the circumstances was the wisest that could be adopted.

Sir Henry appears to have conducted matters with the caution and forethought of an able commander. After spending six days in building the fort at Culmore, he sent out exploring parties to reconnoitre the country around it. Finding from them that the Castle of Elagh, although abandoned and partly dismantled, was still tenable, he had its walls repaired, and placed in it Captain Ellis Flood and his company of 200 men as a garrison.

Having now secured a good base for operations, with a commu-

nication with the sea, the English general began to take more decisive steps; and on the 22nd May he marched with his army to Derry, a distance of four miles, by the river side, leaving Captain Alford at Culmore, with 600 men to complete the works there.

In the narrative Derry is described as—

“A place in the manner of an Iland, comprehending within it 40 acres of ground, wherein were the ruines of an old Abbay, of a bishoppes house, of two churches, and at one side an old castle; the river Foyle encompassing it all at one side, and a bogg, most comonlie wett, and not easilie passable, except in two or three places, dividing it from the maine land.”

Here Sir Henry, “seeing it was somewhat hie, and therefore dry and healthie to dwell upon,” determined to make a permanent settlement. Accordingly, he unloaded the ships of the provisions and warlike stores, and commenced building two forts,—one to keep “our store of munition and victuals in,” and the other a little above, where the walls of an old cathedral were standing, “for our future safetie and retreate vpon all occasions.” That the planting of a permanent military colony was among the chief objects of the expedition is proved by the number of mechanics and artisans brought over in this fleet. We further find Sir Henry stating that—

“The provisions wee carried with us at first were, a quantitie of deale boards and sparrs of fir timber; a 100 flock beds, with other necessities to furnish an hospital withall; one piece of demy cannon of brass, two culverins of iron; a master gunner; two matter masons, and two master carpenters, allowed in pay, with a great number of tooles and other vtensiles, and with all furniture and victuall requisite.”

Having unloaded those stores, the forts were at once commenced, the general assigning to each company their several tasks, and where to work.

But among the twenty-five captains who, according to Fynes Moryson, accompanied Sir Henry Docwra, there were some restless and fiery spirits, who murmured at this servile labour, and chafed at the delay of the prudent general; but he was not a man to be disturbed from his line of action by the remonstrances of his junior officers: we find him, therefore, alluding gravely but calmly to the matter in the following words:—

“I know there were some that presentlie beganne to censure mee for not sturring abroad, and making journeys up the cuntrye, alleading wee were stronge enough, and able to doe it. I deny not but wee were, *but that was not the scope and drift of our coming*; wee were to sitt it out all winter; prayes [preys] would not be sett without many hazards and a great consumption of our men; the cuntrye was yet unknowne unto us, and those we had to deale with were such as I was sure would chuse or refuse to feight with vs, as they sawe their owne advantage;

these considerations moued mee to resolve to hould on other course, *and before I attempted any thinge else to settle sure the footing we had gayned.*"

To this object the English commander diligently directed his attention, availing himself of the natural aids supplied by the locality. The work rapidly progressed. Obtaining a supply of lime by burning the sea shells found on the shores of the Foyle, cutting timber from the wooded slopes of the hills on the side of the river opposite to Derry, and using without hesitation the stones of the old buildings he found at hand, whether ecclesiastical or not, and drawing a further supply from a quarry hard by, before the winter set in, the English commander had the satisfaction of seeing his troops safely housed, and secured from the assaults of "the Irish enemy" by strong ramparts and fortifications. "Whether this," he exclaims, with excusable pride, "was the right course to take or noe, let them that sawe the after events be the judges of."

It must not, however, be imagined that these operations were effected without opposition from the native Irish. On the contrary, the contest with them was fierce and unremitting. In the very beginning of the works, the timber that was required for the rafters, roofs, and domestic purposes of the new colony could not be obtained without bloodshed. "O'Cane [thus the narrative states] having a woode lying over against us [on the other side of the river], wherein was plenty of old grown birch, *I daylie sent workmen, with a guard of soldiers, to cutt it downe, and there was not a sticke of it brought home but first was well fought for.*" It is evident, therefore, that during the first four months the English held "the Derrie," their power did not extend a musket shot beyond their intrenchments, and the attention of their able commander was exclusively bent to securing the safety of his position. That this was no light task, an event noted in the "Annals of the Four Masters" abundantly proves. We find therein, that in less than two months from the date the English occupied the Castle of Elagh, namely, on the 28th June, 1600, it was besieged by the O'Doherties, and its garrison placed in peril. On Sir Henry Docwra and Sir John Chamberlaine, with 40 horse and 500 foot, hastening from Derry to their assistance, a brisk skirmish ensued, in which Sir Henry had his horse shot under him, and Sir John Chamberlaine was slain outright. In fact the "Annals" claim a victory, asserting the English were defeated, and many of their soldiers, with their second in command, killed by the mountaineers of Innisowen. Neither, in the interval, were the able leaders, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and Hugh Roe O'Donnell, inattentive to the English expedition. Watching, from the first, its course along the eastern and northern coast of Ireland, they had collected an army to oppose it, fully aware of the danger of its obtaining a permanent footing in

Donegal. Baffled by the cautious proceedings of Sir Henry Docwra in intrenching his army, they drew back in the hope of luring him into the open country. But while thus closely observing the operations on the shores of the Foyle, word was brought to the Irish leaders that the Deputy, Lord Mountjoy, had left Dublin, and was marching in force, with the Queen's banner displayed, towards Newry. Leaving O'Donnell to watch Sir Henry Docwra, Tyrone hurried to the south, razing to the ground the fort of the Blackwater as he passed by, and burning Armagh over the heads of its English garrison, he met Mountjoy at the pass of Moyra. A fierce struggle ensued, which ended in the defeat of the English; and the Lord Deputy, finding the passes to the north bristling with Irish pikes, had to retreat to Dublin.

Although Sir Henry attempts to conceal the check given to the commander of her Majesty's forces in Ireland, by stating—

“My Lord Deputie att the time wee should land (to make our descent the more easie) was drawn downe to the Blackwater, and gave out that hee would enter the country that way, wereupon Tyrone and O'Donnell had assembled their chieftest strength to oppose against him; *but his lordship, now being aware wee were safe on shore, and possest of the ground wee meant to inhabite, withdrew his campe, and returned to Dublin*”—

yet a comparison of the date of the landing at Culmore, namely, the 16th May, with the date of the battle at Moyra, which was, according to Cox, about the 17th May, and the impossibility that any information could be sent between the English leaders in so short a space of time, will prove that the repulse of the able but merciless Mountjoy was a serious one, and that his falling back shortly afterwards on Dublin was caused, not by military strategy, but by the imperative necessity of defeat.

The summer of the year 1600 had now passed, and we find the prudent governor keeping strict watch and ward in his Castle of Derry. This is graphically brought before us in the following extract from the Irish Annals, A. D. 1600 :—“The English of Derry for a long time were so much in dread, that they did not come outside of the ramparts except a short distance, and a great number of them were on guard every night lest they might be surprised by an attack.” It was therefore clearly the policy of the governor to remain on the defensive, to extend and build forts, and lay up stores for the winter; thus, in his own emphatic words, settling and making sure the footing he had gained. Occupied fully with those duties, the summer of 1600 passed, and autumn was at hand. In the month of September of that year a circumstance occurred which brings to light a peculiar trait in Sir Henry's character, and proves likewise the ceaseless vigilance with which the Irish chieftains watched the proceedings of the garrison on the shores of the Foyle.

In the map furnished in the Ordnance Survey, and which is copied from a manuscript one in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, we find the "Cittie of Derrie," as built by Sir Henry Docwra, fairly delineated. This map bears date of the year 1600. A goodly castle stands close to the water's edge, where sundry high pooped caravels, bearing on their flags the cross of St. George, are at anchor; before this castle is a storehouse, behind an hospital; on a line with the storehouse is a square enclosure, titled "a place to lay in the Queens timber;" extending from the castle, landwards, are several houses, one of which, "Babingtons house," is a fair mansion of two stories high; passing thence through a street, we reach the walled town of Derry, evidently then, as in after times, a city of refuge. The walls are carefully laid out according to the approved rules of fortification of the period, and have one gate facing the causeway from the river, and a sallyport on the eastern side. Within the walls, the houses, of which there are a sufficient number, are somewhat irregularly disposed; there are, however, two main streets intersecting each other at right angles; at the upper extremity of one of those are the governor's house and garden, both large and commodious, covering about one sixth of the area enclosed within the walls, showing that the worthy knight was not unmindful of his personal comforts. The three cannon,—to wit, "one piece of demy cannon of brass, and two culverins of iron,"—are placed under the governor's eye, and are pointed towards the enemies' country. Beneath one of those cannon is the sallyport mentioned previously, leading to what is traced lightly on the map as "a Paterne to make the Towne by." Whether this is the model after which the town was built, or was yet to be built by, when it would extend itself in that direction, there are no means of ascertaining. Adjacent, at the extreme left-hand corner of the map, are two erections which attract attention. One apparently is of wood, consisting of two upright posts with a cross beam, bearing a suspicious resemblance to a gallows—a resemblance which is decidedly increased by a cord or rope pendent from the cross beam. Behind this, in suggestive proximity, is a large building called "*the Gouvnrors Horstal*."

Now, there is no city in Ireland at the present day whose neighbourhood, within a circle of five miles, is less adapted for cavalry operations than Derry. Taking into consideration its mountainous character, its frequent ravines and steep watercourses, its many swamps, extended bogs, and dense woods, Derry in the year of grace 1600 must have been a caution to the boldest rider; yet there are many proofs that Sir Henry Docwra was partial to this arm. A predilection we can account for in no other way than having been born in a celebrated northern English county, the able governor of Derry shared that weakness for horseflesh from which it is asserted

that no Yorkshireman is ever thoroughly exempt. This taste, however, in a few months after his landing, nearly cost him his life. In September, 1600, it appears that the horses of the garrison of Derry were daily driven out to pasture beyond the walls, with a guard of soldiers to protect them. O'Donnell, hearing this, determined to seize the English steeds; accordingly, he placed an ambuscade in a ravine near the city, probably in the narrow glen of the neglected demesne of the present bishop, and, as the cavalcade trotted by, his kernes, rushing out with loud shouts, slew several of the guards, and drove off the horses at the gallop. Some of the soldiers who escaped brought the news to Sir Henry, who, with some of the garrison, mounting the horses that had been left in stable, dashed in pursuit. Hearing their approach, O'Donnell wheeled his rearguard, and awaited their attack. The skirmish was fierce and sharp, and terminated only when a chieftain named Hugh Duv O'Donnell aimed at the English general "with the cast of a dart," and wounding him through his helmet severely in the forehead, Sir Henry fell from his horse, and his troops at once retreated; or, as the "Annals" have it, "all the English, after their chief consellor and captain had been wounded, retired in sorrow and discomfiture, and did not follow in pursuit of their horses any further"—a sad day for the garrison of Derry, a glorious one for the riders of the Kinel Connell, who on numbering their prey, on arrival at their camp, found they had deprived the clan Saxon of upwards of 200 horses. From this and other accounts handed down to us of the proceedings of O'Donnell, it is evident that, since the English landed at Culmore, that able chieftain had watched them with untiring vigilance, laying waste the country for miles in their neighbourhood, cutting off their foraging parties, skirmishing with their outposts, harassing their garrisons with frequent alarms, intercepting their communications, and cooping up their soldiers within the narrow limits of their ramparts. The result of this plan of operations must eventually have been the retreat of the English, and abandonment of Derry. The Abbe Mac Geoghegan states, in his "History of Ireland," that O'Donnell, who was appointed to watch the garrisons of Lough Foyle, acted with a prudence and valour worthy of the illustrious house of Tyrconnell, of which he was the chief. He pursued several detachments from those places, and killed a great many of them; the forts were also surrounded by O'Neill's army. In the month of August this prince surprised, according to the same authority, 1500 of their men who were foraging, and put the whole of them to the sword; but the English being masters of the sea, and the Irish having no fleet to oppose them, their losses were quickly repaired by fresh arrivals of men and arms from England.

In addition to the constant attacks of a watchful enemy, the English garrisons had to contend with disease and insufficient food.

Confined within their narrow walls, sickness made fearful ravages in their ranks, and the constant use of salt meat acted injuriously on their health. Sir Henry Docwra himself admits that within five months from his landing he had lost 1000 men, or, in other words, *one fourth of his entire force*, from those combined causes. One of the objects of the army of the Foyle was to plant a garrison at Ballyshannon, at the extremity of the lower lake of Lough Erne; for this special purpose a force of 1000 men of the expedition was set apart when it left England:—

“And now Sir Mathew Morgan did demand his regiament of 1000 foote and 50 horse, wch (as I saide before) were designed him for a plantation at Ballyshannon; but upon consultation held, how wee should proceed, and with what probabilitie he might be able to effect that intended business, there appeared soe many wants and difficulties unthought on or unprovided for before, that it was evident those forces should be exposed to manifest ruine, if at that time, and in the state as things then stooode, hee should goe forward; the truth whereof being certified both by himselfe and mee to the Lords of the Councell in England, also to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, wee received present directions from them both to suspend the proceedings in that action till another time, and soe I discharged the rest of the shipping reserved for the journey; *and not long after, the companys growing weake, and the list of the foote reduced to the number of 3000, that regiament was wholly dissolved, and made as a part onlie of our army—*”

a significant proof of the increasing weakness of the English garrison at Donegal.

This was in June; in September matters were worse—in fact, at that date the condition of the forces on the Foyle was one of extreme danger and hazard; surrounded by watchful enemies, with their ranks wasted by disease, and their provisions nearly exhausted, the withdrawal from Derry of the English expedition was a mere question of time that a brief period must have settled:—

“*And now [thus the narrative declares] the winter beganne to be fierce vpon us, our men wasted with continuall laboures, the iland scattered with cabbins full of sicke men, our Biskett all spent, our other provisions of nothing but Meale, Butter, and a little wine, and that by computation to houlde out but 6 dayes longer; Tyrone and O'Donnell, to weaken us the more, proclaiming free passage and reliefe through their countrie to send them away to as many as would leave vs and departe for England; our two forts, notwithstanding all the diligence wee had been able to use, farre from the state of being defensible.*”

From this critical position Sir Henry Docwra was relieved by a timely supply of provisions, and a reinforcement of 600 foote and 50 horse from England, and the treachery of an Irish chieftain.

When Hugh Roe O'Donnell perceived that the English re-

mained strictly on the defensive within their fortifications, he left his brother-in-law, *Nial Garv O'Donnell*, and *Sir John O'Doherty*, with a sufficient force to watch, according to the "Four Masters," "the foreigners;" and proceeded with the main body of his troops, on a foray into Connaught and Munster, to plunder the lands of the Earls of Clanrickard and Thomond. The chieftain thus left in joint command, Niall Garv O'Donnell, was brave, but turbulent; violent in temper, and rude in manner, as his name "Gariff, or rough," implies—fearless, active, energetic, and an admirable leader in the kind of guerilla warfare that it was the present policy of the Irish generals to follow in their contests with the English forces on the Foyle. But he was also fickle in disposition, and false of faith; true to no party, safe to no man; and, although nearly allied to Hugh Roe O'Donnell, both envious and jealous of the rising fame and power of his young kinsman as the acknowledged head of the Kinell Connell—a position to which Nial Garv had himself some claims, and still longed for with all the impetuosity of his fiery Celtic temperament.

Apparently this was well known to the English statesmen, and the governor of Derry had instructions to win him over. Accordingly, scarcely had the Prince of Tyrconnell gone with his troops through the pass of Barnsmore, on his way southward, when the agents of Sir Henry Docwra renewed their attempts to tamper with the fidelity of his kinsman. Acting on the policy which Moore, in his "History of Ireland," observes, can be traced as far back as the intrigues of Cæsar with the Celtic chieftains in Gaul, Nial Garv was offered, "on behalfe of the Queen, the whole countrey of Tirconnell to him and to his heires," if he would betray his trust. The avarice of the rude chieftain was further excited by promises of splendid presents and of great wealth, and his jealousy of his brother-in-law increased by interested parties near his person, who were bribed by the English for that purpose. One of those, a certain Cornelius O'Gallagher (according to Philip O'Sullivan), a principal agent in influencing Nial Garv to desert to the English, afterwards fell into the hands of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, and was forthwith hung (*laqueo strangulatur*) by the indignant chief for his treacherous conduct. Meanwhile the temptations proved too strong for the fidelity of O'Donnell's lieutenant; and, abandoning the standard of his house, Nial Garv became a traitor to his country, and joined the English with a force of 1000 men.

This was the turning point of the expedition. The desertion of so powerful a chieftain from the native ranks was in the end fatal to the Irish cause. Subsequent events proved this; but, even at the time of its occurrence, both friend and foe foresaw the consequences that would arise from it.

"His coming [*writes the English commander*] was very acceptable at that time, and such as wee made many uses of, and could ill have spared." "Truly [*lament the Irish Annalists*], the English were the better of his joining them, for they were wearied and exhausted from want of sleep every night, through fear of O'Donnell, and they were suffering from sickness and distemper, on account of the closeness of the place they were in, and having no fresh meat, or other provisions requisite for them. They complained of their distress to Niall Garv O'Donnell respecting all things they stood in need of; and he relieved them from the close imprisonment in which they were, and took with him 1000 warriors to Lifford, which was a town on the borders of the same lake [Lough Foyle], and had been a fortress to O'Donnell; but at that time it was insecure, for there was no strong keep or castle of lime since it had formerly been demolished, and only an imperfect rampart made of clay and sods, surrounded by a shallow water ditch, while it was in contemplation to rebuild the fortress which had been previously there. The guards vacated that fort through fear and terror when they perceived the English advancing, and O'Donnell not being near them; upon which the English *entered the fort, and they raised immense great mounds and ramparts of earth and stone to protect them*, so that they were sufficiently strong to hold out against their enemies."

On hearing this disastrous news, O'Donnell hurried back from Ballymote. So impetuous was the haste of the young chieftain, that he outstripped the main body of his troops, and, attended by a few horsemen only, arrived before the mounds of Lifford. He was too late; the evil was done, and the English secure behind their fortifications. He placed a cordon of his troops around the fort when the main body of his army joined, but apparently more with a view of protecting his people while they reaped their corn from a sally of the garrison, than from an intention of assault. After a lapse of thirty days, when the corn was cut and placed in small hamper and bags for conveyance across the hills, he drew his troops out of camp, and offered battle. It was declined by the English; and the Irish army retired to its quarters, and dispersed in different directions, having given up the idea of fighting on that day. While scattered and dispersed through the camp, the English, by the advice of Nial Garv, in company with their Irish allies, sallied forth and attacked them. The fight was fierce and protracted, the cavalry of each party especially charging each other with great fury. In the *melee* Manus O'Donnell, brother to the Prince of Tyrconnell, was wounded mortally by one of Nial O'Donnell's chiefs. The combat, which is described with Homeric felicity by the "Four Masters," was disastrous for the Kinel Owen; and shortly after, in November, Hugh O'Donnell withdrew his forces from Lifford, and placed them in winter quarters. Bitter must have been the feelings of the Prince of Tyrconnell when he looked for the last time on the mounds at Lifford. That clear intellect which

rendered him the ablest general the Irish ever had, with probably the exception of Owen Roe O'Neill, at once perceived that the prize for which he had contended so long was torn from his grasp, and the foot of the foreigner placed firmly on Donegal ; and bitterer still to feel that this was done, his plans baffled, his counsels betrayed, and his brother slain by the treachery of a kinsman of his own house, a chieftain of his name and blood.

With far different feelings Sir Henry Docwra watched from the walls of Lifford the retreating army of the Irish, as it swept through the valley of the Finn towards the mountains. The crisis was past, the danger over ; and the English commander felt he was master of the position, and the great primal object of the expedition accomplished. Availing himself of the local knowledge possessed by his new allies, Sir Henry without delay commenced offensive operations : sallying forth from Lifford with Nial Garv, he ravaged O'Cahan's Country, and returned in triumph "with great plunder and sway." On another occasion their united forces plundered the whole of Glen Aicle. Extending his views, and accompanied by Sir Art Lynogh O'Neill, a kinsman of the Earl of Tyrone, and declared the Queen's O'Neill, Sir Henry made a foray from Dunnalong, and plundered a second time the country of the luckless O'Cahans, and—

"Did many other such services all the winter long, which I stand not upon to make particular mention of ; and I must confess a truth, all by the help and advise of Neale Garvie, and his followers, and the other Irish that came in with Sir Arthur O'Neale, *without whose intelligence and guidance nothing could have been done of ourselves* ; although it is true, withall, they had there own ends in it, which were always for private revenge, and wee ours to make use of them for the furtherance of the publike service."

These frequent excursions and cattle raids spread the terror and fame of the English arms in every direction. So great was this panic among the native clans, that Taaffe mentions that many of the northern Irish fled to Scotland to avoid the ravages of the soldiers of Clan Derry.

The year 1600 was now drawing to a close ; and the Christmas that capped with snow the peaks of Innisowen, and whitened the roofs of the castles of Culmore, Elagh, Derry, Dunnalong, and Lifford, saw their English garrisons in a different condition from their recent plight. They were now well housed, well armed, and well fed, with their united energies directed towards a common object by one able commander. On the other hand, it beheld the Irish enemy, who were opposed to them, dwelling in wattled huts and turf-roofed sheelings, which scarcely sheltered them from the inclemency of the season,—scantily fed, poorly clad, and indifferently armed,

with treachery dividing their leaders, and their numbers thinned by war and internal feuds. The final result of a contest between antagonistic forces of such different character can be readily guessed. In truth the wonder is, not that the English were successful, but that their success was so long delayed—proving not only the unflinching courage and intense resistance of the native Celts, but also that vigour and endurance of physical hardship, that careless contempt of danger and passionate love of arms, which enabled them to contend so long against such fearful odds—qualities which, transmitted to their descendants in the present day, still place the Irish soldiers in the foremost ranks of the military nations of the earth.

Nor must the praise of high courage, indomitable perseverance, and unchanging tenacity of purpose be withheld from their adversaries. Although surrounded by dangers, and opposed to difficulties before which the stoutest might have succumbed without discredit, the army of the Foyle, since its first landing at Culmore, had never lost a foot of ground. Step by step it had won its way. In six months it had established and garrisoned a chain of forts in important positions, communicating with each other, and commanding the passes to the hostile country of the O'Neills, O'Donnells, O'Doherties, and O'Cahans. It had undergone the ordeal of sickness, and had experienced the privations of scarcity of food, without impairing its discipline or lessening its courage. Thus, while in the narrative so often quoted we see many proofs of the deplorable condition to which the forces of the expedition were reduced by disease and the casualties of war, we find no trace of insubordination on the part of the soldiers, nor a single instance of their failing to stand to their arms when called on to repel the enemy. But, while we willingly award this praise to the stout soldiers who manned the walls of the English garrisons, we must also admit that much of their success is due to their general. Undoubtedly Sir Henry Dowcra was an able and a remarkable man. A veteran soldier, trained in the Spanish and Flemish wars, a safe counsellor, a sagacious leader, keen to foresee, cautious in resolve, prompt to execute, stern of mood, and hard of heart, we fear he was (no captain who made a campaign with the savage Bingham could be otherwise). Plain in manner, and blunt of speech (Sir Henry served in Flanders), we admit he was; but he was also true to his word, upright and honest, although from the necessity of his position ruling by the sword. He was not unpopular with the native Irish. He showed them but little mercy in the field, plundered their lands, and drove their cattle into the bawns of the English garrison without compunction, punished with unrelenting severity any attempt at treachery or double dealing on their part; on the other hand, he was scrupulously just to those who sought his protection; his promises to the Irish chiefs were honestly

made, and to the utmost of his power as honestly kept. This is clearly proved in the narrative. When he found the engagements he had entered into with the O'Doherties, the O'Donnells, and O'Cahans, after being ratified by the hands and seals of the Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the Council, subsequently broken for political purposes, and unworthy jealousy towards himself, after vain endeavours to obtain justice for them, and an indignant remonstrance against the wrong thus done both to him and the Irish chiefs, Sir Henry Docwra did what every honest and honourable man would have done,—he threw up the military command he held through so many dangers and trials, and, resigning the governorship of Derry, retired into private life. No stain of broken trust or violated pledges rests, therefore, upon the character of Sir Henry Docwra. In his dealings with the Irish he acted sternly, but with perfect good faith, and thus gained the confidence and won the respect of the quick-witted Celtic tribes by whom he was surrounded. There are many proofs scattered through the pages of the Irish historians of the existence of this feeling. In the “Annals of the Four Masters,”—the writers of which, being natives of Donegal, and living within forty miles of Derry, are competent witnesses—we find Sir Henry Docwra called “a distinguished knight, of wisdom and ingenuity, a pillar of battle and valor”—an amount of praise the compilers of that valuable record are somewhat chary of bestowing on the leaders of the Clan Saxon. Cox also mentions that, when on one occasion Nial Garv O'Donnell, in all the insolence of uncontrolled feudal despotism, dared to tell Sir Henry Docwra “that the people of Tyrconnel were *his*, Nial's, subjects, and that he would punish, exact, cut, and hang them as he pleased,” the stout English knight at once confronted him, “and charged him the contrary on his allegiance, and at his peril;” a line of conduct which, while it gained friends among the down-trodden natives, raised up enemies among those English statesmen and political adventurers whose policy was of a far different character in Irish affairs, and towards Irishmen.

Taafe, in his “History,” distinctly mentions that, after the arrival of Sir Henry, many of the Irish came and sought his protection. In truth, it appears that Governor Docwra united with his military office the duties of a judge and a dispenser of justice; and that latterly, in consequence thereof, the hall of his strong castle at Derry had less the aspect of a guardroom than of a court to which the weak and the wronged came from all parts of Innisowen and Tyrconnell for shelter and redress. Two instances will suffice to establish the existence of this state of things.

In the year 1603, in one of the blood feuds, of such frequent occurrence among the mountains of Donegal, a chieftain named Donal O'Donnell slew another chieftain, Manus Oge O'Struithen,

who had previously killed Donal's brother. Subsequently Hugh Buighe, the brother of this Donal, was wounded, taken prisoner, and brought by the English to Derry:—"And the Governor declared that he would not set him at liberty until the person who had committed the slaying, namely, Donal the son of Con, should be given up. Accordingly, *Nial and Donal went on the word of protection before the Governor, and Hugh Buighe was set at liberty, and Donal was retained*"—a practical proof of the confidence the Kinel Connell placed in the good faith of Sir Henry, as well as of the strong affection the rude Celtic chieftain had for his wounded brother.

The other instance occurred previous to this. On the 27th January, 1601, Sir John O'Doherty, Lord of Innisowen, was killed fighting against the English. Hugh Roe O'Donnell nominated Felim Oge, Sir John's brother, as The O'Doherty; but the clan of Ailin and the clan of Daibid brought Sir John's only son, to save him from his uncle and O'Donnell, to the English at Derry, who received him with open arms.

The orphan lad whom his faithful clansmen thus brought down from the mountains of Innisowen, to place, at the early age of thirteen years, under the protection of Sir Henry Docwra, was the unfortunate Sir Cahir O'Doherty.

(*To be continued.*)

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE TRADESMEN'S TOKENS ISSUED IN THE CITY OF CASHEL, AND OF THE FAMILIES OF THE PERSONS BY WHOM THEY WERE ISSUED.

BY JOHN DAVIS WHITE, OF CASHEL, SOLICITOR.

I SHALL endeavour to do for the Cashel Tradesmen's tokens what Mr. Prim has done for those issued in Kilkenny, and the Rev. Samuel Haynan for those belonging to Youghal; and, although the number of them is very small, I trust the information which I have been able to glean concerning the persons who issued them may be interesting to the members of the Society.

By the kind assistance of Dr. Aquilla Smith, I am enabled to give a more complete list of them, and of their several varieties, than I should otherwise have been able to present.

The following list is by Dr. Smith, who has also made the drawings of the tokens :—